

Attitudes Toward Rape: A Comparative Analysis of Police, Rapists, Crisis Counselors, and Citizens

Hubert S. Feild
Auburn University

Although attitudes toward rape have been regarded as important in rape research, few data have been collected on these attitudes. The present investigation was designed to (a) study the dimensionality of rape attitudes; (b) explore the relationships between perceptions of rape and background characteristics of rapists, police, crisis counselors, and citizens; and (c) determine how these groups might differ with regard to rape attitudes. Data collected from 1,448 subjects showed that the respondent groups were similar in their structures of rape attitudes. Sex, race, and marital status were identified as the most important characteristics for predicting rape attitudes; *within* the respondent groups, other characteristics were found to be important. Highly significant differences were also found among the groups in their perceptions of rape. The counselors differed from the police, citizens, and rapists in their views of rape, while citizens and police were most similar. No differences were found between the police and rapists on half of the attitudinal dimensions. Implications of the results in terms of attitudes toward rape are discussed.

Few issues elicit such a wide variety of opinions and beliefs among the general populace as does the topic of rape. Rape can and does mean many different things to many people, and sometimes it means many contradictory things. Evidence regarding the variety of people's perceptions of rape is readily apparent by reviewing any number of popular magazines (Calvert, 1974; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Salerno, 1975) or best-selling books (Brownmiller, 1975a).

Recently, it has been suggested that the perceptions or attitudes of people toward rape are important for understanding not only their reactions to the act itself but also their be-

haviors concerning the victim and/or offender (Brownmiller, 1975b). Various researchers have proposed that these attitudinal sets have been influential in (a) the reporting of rape by rape victims (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974); (b) the treatment of rape victims by judges (Bohmer, 1974; Bohmer & Blumberg, 1975), by juries (Barber, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975a, pp. 373-374; Scroggs, 1976), and by attorneys (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1975; Landau, 1974; Chappell, Note 1); (c) the writing of rape laws and rape legislation (Heinz, 1974; Leurs, 1974; Sasko & Seseck, 1975); (d) the processing and investigation of rape complaints by police (Galton, 1976; Keefe & O'Reilly, 1976; Chappell, Note 2); and (e) the physical and psychological care administered by medical personnel to rape victims (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974, 1976; LeBourdais, 1976; McGuire & Stern, 1976). Moreover, Brownmiller (1975a) has cogently argued that beliefs perpetuated by society, such as "all women want to be raped" (p. 311), "women falsely accuse innocent men of rape" (p. 373), and "women provoke rape by their physical appearance" (p. 373), have led to the victimization of

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Requests for reprints should be sent to Hubert S. Feild, Department of Psychology, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama 36830.

women. Similarly, within a legal context, LeGrand (1973) has proposed that there is an intimate interrelationship between the subjugation and repression of women through current rape laws and societal attitudes concerning rape. She has noted, "Although societal attitudes are no doubt responsible for the present construction of rape laws, it is also true that this construction serves to reinforce those attitudes" (LeGrand, 1973, p. 919).

Research by Chappell (Note 3), Curtis (1973), and others has pointed to the need to examine community members' attitudes toward rape as well as those attitudes of groups from which victims, offenders, and/or people likely to come into contact with rape are drawn. As these authors suggest, such research is needed for the further development of a theory of rape. In addition, many programs designed to prevent rape assume that rape is a social/cultural act best deterred by modifying the attitudes or perceptions of rape held by victims, offenders, and members of the criminal justice system (Brownmiller, 1975a). Yet, even though rape is one of the most rapidly increasing, hotly debated, and newly researched crimes in America (Goldner, 1972) and even though it appears generally accepted that attitudes are important in studying rape, little empirical research has been undertaken in this area. For the most part, when rape attitudes have been studied, the data base has been restricted to anecdotal events or case histories (see, for example, MacKellar, 1975). Of course, these data are useful, but such information is not readily susceptible to quantitative analysis and provides little objective evidence on the generality or magnitude of the problem.

Using data collected from a diverse sample of subjects having different points of contact with rape, the present study attempted to fill this void by providing an initial, empirical examination of rape attitudes. More specifically, the purposes of the investigation were (a) to study the underlying nature or dimensionality of rape attitudes; (b) to explore the relationships between perceptions of rape and various background characteristics of individuals from different respondent groups in the general pop-

ulation; and (c) to determine how these various respondent groups might differ with regard to rape attitudes.

Concerning background characteristics, the selection of appropriate variables for the study was made with respect to two considerations: (a) the use of major individual difference variables (e.g., age, sex, race, education) that could be useful for identifying and characterizing various respondent groups in terms of rape perceptions and (b) the inclusion of variables that recent rape research or theory has suggested as determinants of people's views of rape (e.g., attitudes toward women, personal acquaintance with a rape victim, extent of contact with offenders and/or victims).

Rape crisis counselors, patrol police officers, citizens of a community, and rapists comprised the four respondent groups utilized in the study. Crisis counselors were selected because, from a therapeutic perspective, they are likely to deal with victims initially (Brodyaga, Gates, Singer, Tucker, & White, 1975; Roberts & Hart, 1976). Thus, their work would seem to be critical in victims' psychological adjustment to the offense and their decisions whether to report the attack to the police.

Police officers were chosen as they are most often the first persons to come into contact with victims following an attack (Chappell, Note 3). In many jurisdictions, the ultimate disposition of a rape complaint (i.e., whether the complaint will be investigated) is frequently determined by patrol police officers. Further, Galton (1976) has pointed out that investigators' attitudes toward rape affect their analysis of the elements of the offense. Police, therefore, would appear to be a significant reference group in studying rape attitudes.

Since rape victims must interact with community members after an assault, it was thought that citizens' attitudes toward rape might also be influential in the social and psychological adjustment of a victim (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974, 1976). Then too, several writers (Blitman & Green, 1975; Brownmiller, 1975a, pp. 373-374; LeGrand, 1973) have noted that jurors' attitudes toward rape may have an influence on their verdicts in a rape

trial. Therefore, the third study group consisted of selected citizens of a community.

Finally, rapists were incorporated in the research, since the literature has noted that offenders' perceptions of rape are likely to play a key role in their decision to assault a woman (Abel, Madden, & Christopher, Note 4). Information relative to rapists' perceptions of rape would also appear logical for contrasting different respondent groups' points of view of the offense.

The lack of previous research on the measurement and correlates of rape attitudes made it difficult to formulate specific, directional hypotheses for each of the variables and respondent groups studied. However, several broader propositions, based upon available literature, were made and tested in the study.

Contrary to the notion implied by some writers that rape attitudes can be represented by a single construct and following the arguments of Davis (1975, p. 77), it was hypothesized that attitudes toward rape would be multidimensional rather than unidimensional in nature. Second, it was hypothesized that respondents' demographic and background characteristics, specifically sex, race, age, and education, would be related to attitudes toward rape. Third, the respondents' scores on selected noncognitive and cognitive measures, that is, attitudes toward women and knowledge about rape, would also be related to their perceptions of rape. Finally, it was hypothesized that the respondent groups would differ in terms of their rape attitudes. Rapists would have more favorable opinions of rape than would rape crisis counselors; the police officers and citizens would be distributed between these two extreme groups on the dimensions of rape attitudes.

Method

Subjects

A total of 1,448 subjects comprised the sample used in the study. Of this number, the following respondent groups served as participants in the research: (a) female ($n = 528$) and male ($n = 528$) adult citizens of a medium-sized community; (b) patrol police officers ($n = 254$) of two urban and two rural communities; (c) committed rapists ($n = 20$) at a state mental hospital; and (d) female counselors ($n = 118$) from rape crisis centers located in 12 major metropolitan areas across the United States.

Of the total sample, 47% of the subjects were women and 53% were men; 14% were black and 86% were white. The average age of the respondents was 33 years ($SD = 11.66$), and they had an average of 15 years ($SD = 2.75$) of formal education. Approximately one third (34.7%) indicated they knew personally a woman who had been raped.¹

Measures

The following instruments were utilized in the study: (a) the Attitudes Toward Rape questionnaire (ATR), (b) the Rape Knowledge Test (RKT), (c) the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS), and (d) the Personal Data Sheet (PDS). Each of these measures is described below.

Attitudes Toward Rape questionnaire (ATR). Since no published, empirically developed measure of attitudes toward rape was available, the Attitudes Toward Rape questionnaire, or ATR, was developed for use in the study. Its construction consisted of a series of steps taken under the following considerations: (a) The content should be indicative of comments or statements frequently cited in the literature as reflecting people's beliefs or opinions about rape, and (b) since several instruments were to be administered to groups with only limited amounts of time available for participation in the study, the instrument content should be as brief, unambiguous, and nonredundant as possible.

Initially, the literature, including popular as well as scholarly publications (see Feild & Barnett, 1977), was searched systematically for statements that would be useful for characterizing people's attitudes toward the following broad domains of rape: (a) the act of rape, (b) the rape victim, and (c) the rapist. From this review, a pool of 75 items representing affective (feelings of liking-disliking), cognitive (beliefs, expectations), and conative (action orientation) components of rape attitudes was developed.² Then, using the criteria described earlier, 37 statements were selected and formatted into a questionnaire with a 6-point agreement-disagreement response scale; the questionnaire was administered to a developmental sample of 200 female and 200 male undergraduate students enrolled at a large university.

¹ A table providing additional data on the demographic and background characteristics of each of the respondent groups may be obtained from the author.

² Ideally, a large number of items would be created and administered to the subjects. However, the subjects' limited amount of time necessitated a choice between two alternatives: (a) Eliminate other instruments used in the study and enlarge the content of the ATR or (b) retain the additional measures and restrict the content of the ATR to those statements most frequently cited in the literature. Given the purposes of the present study, the second alternative seemed most appropriate.

Following the administration, analyses of the item response distributions and item content as well as interviews with selected respondents were then conducted. These steps resulted in the revision of four items and the removal of five statements because of a lack of clarity in meaning. Based upon these modifications, the final form of the instrument consisted of 32 items (half positively phrased, half negatively to control for response set) to which subjects were asked to respond using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (scored 1) to strongly disagree (scored 6). Examples of items included in the ATR are: "A woman can be raped against her will"; "A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape"; "Most women secretly desire to be raped"; and "The reason most rapists commit rape is for sex." Information relative to the reliability of the ATR is discussed in the following section.

Rape Knowledge Test (RKT). In addition to the ATR, all of the subjects completed the Rape Knowledge Test (RKT). Using 33 multiple-choice items designed to measure people's factual knowledge of rape, an initial version of the RKT was administered to a sample of 400 college students.³ Based upon item analyses (including item-total test score correlations and item difficulty indices) of the responses, 14 items were selected for inclusion in a revised form of the RKT. This revised form was then given to the subjects in the study. The following items are illustrative of questions contained in the test:

Most reported rapes occur in:

1. automobiles
2. open spaces such as alleys, parks, streets, etc.
3. the victim's residence
4. the rapist's residence
5. abandoned or unoccupied buildings

Among which racial combination do most reported rapes occur?

1. black males and black females
2. black males and white females
3. white males and white females
4. white males and black females

Other questions in the RKT dealt with the following topics: (a) percentage of rapes reported to the police, (b) typical age of rape victims, (c) typical age of rapists, (d) percentage of accused rapists found innocent or who have their case dismissed when brought to trial, (e) racial composition of convicted rapists, (f) geographical location in the United States of the highest number of reported rapes per capita, (g) percentage of rapes reported to the police in which arrests are made, (h) percentage of raped women who know their rapist, (i) percentage of reported rapes involving brutal beatings of the victim, (j) relationship between degree of physical violence in a rape and knowledge of the rapist by the victim, (k) percentage of reported rapes involving sexual humiliation of the victim through practices described as "sexually deviant," and (l) type of evidence required of the prosecution in a rape case by most states. Answers to the items were keyed to sources

involving the collection and/or reporting of empirical data on rape (see, for example, Amir, 1971; *National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence*, 1969; *Uniform Crime Reports*, 1975). Scores on the RKT were based on the total number of questions answered correctly. Thus, possible scores could range from 0 to 14; a higher score indicated more knowledge about rape. For the sample as a whole ($N = 1,448$), the average score was 4.59 ($SD = 1.67$). Split-half reliability (Spearman-Brown corrected) of the measure was .70.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS). The short form of Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) was also administered to provide an assessment of the subjects' attitudes regarding the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. The AWS consists of 25 items with a 4-point response scale ranging from agree strongly (scored 0) to disagree strongly (scored 3). Scores on the AWS are obtained by summing across each of the 25 items, with possible scores ranging from 0 to 75. The higher the score, the more liberal the view of women and their roles. For the sample as a whole, the average score was 48.18 ($SD = 12.52$). Split-half reliability (Spearman-Brown corrected) of the scale was .78, which compares quite favorably with previously reported estimates (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Examples of items appearing on the AWS are shown below:

There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted. (negatively phrased)

Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day. (positively phrased)

Due to time limitations of the police officers and rape crisis counselors, the AWS could not be administered. Data were available, however, on the rapists and the citizens ($n = 1,076$).

Personal Data Sheet (PDS). A personal data form provided classification information on each of the respondents. Although some unique information was obtained for each participant group, the following data were obtained from an information sheet given to all subjects: (a) age; (b) sex, scored 1 = female, 2 = male; (c) race, scored 1 = black, 2 = white; (d) years of education; and (e) marital status, scored 1 = single, 2 = married.

In addition to these variables, the following questions were asked of specific respondent groups: (a) "Have you personally known a woman who was raped?" Scored 1 = yes, 2 = no (citizens, police, coun-

³ Since much of the current knowledge about rape is based upon (a) incarcerated rapists, (b) reports from rape victims, and/or (c) data from police records, the information on the "facts" of rape may be somewhat distorted. In constructing the RKT, only items dealing with factual information and verified by two or more independent studies were considered.

selsors). (b) "Have you ever testified in court during a rape trial?" Scored 1 = yes, 2 = no (police, counselors). (c) "How many times have you interviewed rape victims about their rape?" Scored 1 = never to 6 = five or more times (police, counselors). (d) "How much contact have you had with accused or convicted rapists?" Scored 1 = no contact at all with rapists to 6 = very much contact with rapists (police, counselors). (e) "How much contact have you had with rape victims?" Scored 1 = no contact at all with rape victims to 6 = very much contact with rape victims (police, counselors). And (f) "As part of your job, have you ever received any special training dealing with rape?" Scored 1 = yes, 2 = no (police, counselors).

Procedure

Research by Abramson, Goldberg, Mosher, Abramson, and Gottesdiener (1975) has indicated that the sex, status, and style of interacting of an experimenter may have a significant effect on a subject's response to sexually oriented material. Following the suggestions of Abramson and Mosher (1975), black and white experimenters of both sexes with various levels of status (professor to undergraduate student) were used in administering the instruments. Prior to distribution, all experimenters were trained in the administration of the measures.

Due to the nature of the participant groups, the conditions of instrument administration could not be controlled. The citizen group completed the inventories individually. These were later collected by one of the experimenters. The police officers, committed rapists, and rape crisis counselors completed the measures working in small groups, supervised by an experimenter, at their respective organizations. In all cases, the questionnaires were administered anonymously.

Of the 1,770 instruments administered, 1,448 (82%) usable responses were collected. The specific questionnaire return rates for each of the four participant groups were: (a) rape crisis counselors—118 out of 200 (59%), (b) patrol officers—254 out of 350 (73%), (c) citizens—1,056 out of 1,200 (88%), and (d) rapists—20 out of 20 (100%).⁴

Results

Exploration of the Dimensionality of Rape Attitudes

In order to test the possibility that the dimensions or structure of attitudes toward rape might differ for the various subgroups of respondents, separate principal components factor analyses of the ATR responses, followed by varimax rotations (Kaiser, 1958), were performed for the following groups: citizens ($n = 1,056$), patrol police officers ($n = 254$),

and rape crisis counselors ($n = 118$). Due to the small number of rapists in the sample ($n = 20$), a separate factor analysis of the ATR could not be performed for this group.

Using Cattell's (1966) scree test, a plot of the eigenvalues indicated that for each of the analyses, eight factors (all with eigenvalues greater than 1.0) should be extracted. The eight factors for each combination of the three groups were then paired and coefficients of congruence (Harman, 1967) computed for each of the pairings to determine the degree of similarity between the rotated factors of each pair of subgroups. The congruence coefficients indicated that the derived factor structures were highly similar, as the congruence indices ranged from .81 to .89 with a mean of .87.

Since the respondent subgroups were quite similar in their attitudinal sets of rape, all subjects were combined ($N = 1,448$) and their ATR responses factor analyzed using a principal components solution with varimax rotation to orthogonality. Based on a plot of the eigenvalues, eight factors (all with eigenvalues greater than 1.0) were extracted from the 32×32 item intercorrelation matrix. The eight factors accounted for 50% of the total common variance in the matrix. All eight factors were found to be interpretable as well as to possess an adequate number of variables with loadings of sufficient magnitude ($\geq \pm .30$) to warrant interpretation and subsequent scoring (Comrey, 1973, p. 209). Table 1 presents the varimax rotated factor loadings for the eight major factors extracted from the factor analysis on the total sample. Along with each factor is the percentage of common variance accounted for by each factor as an index of relative factor importance. (In interpreting the direction of scoring of a factor, it should be kept in mind that a *high* score indicates that a *greater* amount of a dimension is represented by a factor.)

⁴ In any study involving paper-and-pencil questionnaires, response bias (in terms of return rates and answers to the measures) can create a problem. The high rates of questionnaire return and the administration of the instruments under conditions of anonymity likely minimized response bias as a problem in the research.

Factor 1 is principally defined by items dealing with a woman's responsibility in preventing rape; for example, "A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape" and "A raped woman is a responsible victim, not an innocent one." A clear theme among these items is the notion of responsibility. Thus, this factor was named Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention. High-scoring individuals on this factor are ones who feel that women should be held responsible for preventing their own rape (pro-rape attitude).

Factor 2 tends to be saturated with items dealing with sex and its relation to rape. Characteristic themes of this factor are, "The reason most rapists commit rape is for sex"; "Rape is the expression of an uncontrollable desire for sex"; and "Rape is a sex crime." As such, this factor was labeled Sex as Motivation for Rape. A high score on this factor characterizes individuals who believe that the motivation for rape is sex.

Items dealing with the punishment of a rapist readily characterize Factor 3. For instance, such items as "A convicted rapist should be castrated" and "A man who has committed rape should be given at least 30 years in prison" tend to reflect the respondents' notions of retribution for rape. Based on these items, the factor was named Severe Punishment for Rape. Individuals who feel rapists should be severely punished score high on this factor (anti-rape attitude).

On the whole, Factor 4 reflects the perceived role of women in precipitating or causing rape. High loadings of such items as "In forcible rape, the victim never causes the crime" and "Women provoke rape by their appearance or behavior" suggest that this factor be called Victim Precipitation of Rape. A high score on Factor 4 indicates a belief that women cause rape through their appearance or behavior (pro-rape attitude).

Factor 5 is defined by the loadings of items dealing with the perceived "normality" or mental well-being of rapists. High-loading items on this factor are, "Rapists are 'normal' men" and "All rapists are mentally sick." This factor was labeled Normality of Rapists, with a high score suggesting that rapists are normal.

Like Factor 2, Factor 6 centers on the motivation for rape. In this case, however, the focus is on power rather than sex, as shown by such items as "Women are trained by society to be rape victims" and "All rape is a male exercise in power over women"; therefore, this dimension was labeled Power as Motivation for Rape. A high score depicts individuals who feel that the basic motivation for rape is power.

Factor 7 concerns the perceived attractiveness of a woman after her rape; for example, "A woman should not feel guilty following a rape" and "A raped woman is a less desirable woman." This factor was called Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape. High-scoring persons are those who perceive a raped woman in a favorable manner (anti-rape attitude).

Finally, Factor 8 tends to deal with those items that seem to reflect the expected behavior of a woman during a rape. The high-loading items were, "During a rape, a woman should do everything she can do to resist" and "If a woman is going to be raped, she might as well relax and enjoy it." This final factor was named Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape. A high score indicates a belief that a woman should attempt to resist during a rape attack (anti-rape attitude).

For five of the derived ATR factors, it was possible to characterize a high score on each factor as representing either a pro- or anti-rape attitude. However, for Sex as Motivation for Rape, Normality of Rapists, and Power as Motivation for Rape, it was not possible to characterize high scores on the factors in that they represented general perceptions of rape. Thus, people who believe rape is motivated by a need for sex, need for power, or that rapists are normal, could not be labeled as having either pro- or anti-rape sentiments.

Following the derivation of the eight factors, factor scores, to be used in subsequent analyses, were calculated for the subjects using a procedure developed by Kaiser (see Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975, pp. 487-490, for details). This procedure produces uncorrelated, standardized scores on the factors with $M = 0$ and $SD = 1$.

(text continued on page 165)

Table 1
Varimax Rotated Factor Structure of Attitudes Toward Rape

Item	Factor								<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
1. A woman can be raped against her will.	.51						-.17	-.17	1.47	.94
2. The reason most rapists commit rape is for the thrill of physical violence.			-.45	.12		-.29	-.32		3.36	1.46
3. Rapists are "normal" men.	-.16			.23	-.76	-.19			4.75	1.36
4. In forcible rape, the victim never causes the crime.	.14			.76		-.10			3.73	1.54
5. All rapists are mentally sick.			-.10	.29	.75				3.38	1.56
6. A charge of rape two days after the act has occurred is probably not rape.	-.58	-.27			-.10		-.18		4.11	1.56
7. A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape.	-.64						-.18		4.24	1.50
8. A man who has committed rape should be given at least 30 years in prison.		-.11	-.70				.11	-.16	3.54	1.71
9. Women are trained by society to be rape victims.	-.17	.24				-.65			4.31	1.52
10. A raped woman is a less desirable woman.	-.21	-.15			.10	-.32	.60		5.04	1.23
11. If a woman is going to be raped, she might as well relax and enjoy it.	-.33	-.13				-.12		.63	5.16	1.20

Table 1 (*continued*)

Item	Factor								<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
12. Rape provides the opportunity for many rapists to show their manhood.	.16	-.22		-.16		-.63			3.75	1.72
13. Most women secretly desire to be raped.	-.45	-.13		-.11	-.14	-.15	.28	.40	5.07	1.15
14. It would do some women some good to get raped.	-.44	-.13		-.16			.25	.36	5.04	1.31
15. Women provoke rape by their appearance or behavior.	-.36	-.27		-.58					3.37	1.41
16. "Nice" women do not get raped.	-.50					-.11	.35		5.44	.81
17. Most charges of rape are unfounded.	-.46	-.35	-.11		-.11		.11	.10	4.25	1.41
18. In order to protect the male, it should be difficult to prove that a rape has occurred.	-.30	-.28	.15	-.32		-.22			4.22	1.47
19. Rape is the expression of an uncontrollable desire for sex.	-.20	-.72	-.11				.17		3.85	1.55
20. Rape is the worst crime that can be committed.		-.11	-.62	.40	-.16				4.42	1.44
21. Rape is a sex crime.	-.11	-.66	-.10	-.14	.11		-.10		2.43	1.42
22. All rape is a male exercise in power over women.		-.14	-.23	.37		-.48	-.10		3.76	1.47
23. During a rape, a woman should do everything she can do to resist.	-.16	-.14	-.12				.10	-.72	3.13	1.54
24. Rapists are sexually frustrated individuals.	-.11	-.61			.32	-.14			2.96	1.38

(*table continues*)

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Table 1 (continued)

Item	Factor								<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
25. In most cases when a woman was raped, she was asking for it.	-.61	-.18	-.12	-.10	-.11		.26	.10	4.92	1.08
26. The reason most rapists commit rape is for sex.	-.18	-.73			-.11		.19		3.85	1.45
27. Rape of a woman by a man she knows can be defined as a "woman who changed her mind afterward."	-.57	-.37		-.11	-.11		.12		4.32	1.33
28. A convicted rapist should be castrated.			-.72						4.43	1.55
29. A woman should feel guilty following a rape.	.16		.10		.13	-.20	-.65		2.05	1.19
30. The degree of a woman's resistance should be the major factor in determining if a rape has occurred.	-.51	-.27		-.14		-.11	.19	-.32	4.36	1.50
31. A raped woman is a responsible victim, not an innocent one.	-.62			-.20			.14		4.77	1.20
32. Rape serves as a way to put or keep women in their "place."	-.20	.33		.29	-.19	-.38	.14	.10	5.37	1.14
% of common variance	17.6	7.6	7.0	4.4	3.9	3.7	3.5	3.3		

Note. *N* = 1,448. For clarity, only those loadings greater than $\pm .09$ are reported. Definition of factors: 1 = Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention; 2 = Sex as Motivation for Rape; 3 = Severe Punishment for Rape; 4 = Victim Precipitation of Rape; 5 = Normality of Rapists; 6 = Power as Motivation for Rape; 7 = Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape; 8 = Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape. The respondents used a 6-point rating scale ranging from strongly agree = 1 to strongly disagree = 6.

In terms of factor reliability, no data were collected from the same respondents at a second point in time, so the stability of the factors through test-retest methods could not be ascertained. Additionally, the use of differential item weights in deriving factor scores necessarily precludes a *direct* reliability estimate. However, data are available that provide some information relative to the internal consistency of the dimensions of rape attitudes. First, separate factor analyses showed a high degree of similarity, that is, replication of factor structures of rape attitudes across the various respondent subgroups. Second, the square root of the estimated communalities of the ATR factors, the theoretical lower bound of reliability (Taylor & Parker, 1964, p. 39), had a mean value of .62. Although somewhat low, this value seems acceptable given the heterogeneity of the items, the number of factors extracted, and the number of items loading greater than .30 on the factors.

Correlates of Rape Attitudes

Using data collected from the personal data sheets, product-moment (simple and point-biserial) as well as stepwise multiple correlations were computed between the respondent characteristics and each of the eight ATR factors. These correlations were generated for each of the respondent subgroups as well as for the sample as a whole. The purposes of this type of analysis were two-fold. First, it was central to the investigation to determine how various respondent characteristics might *singly* relate to rape attitudes. This was accomplished, in part, by computing simple correlations between the relevant variables under consideration. Where categorical predictor variables (e.g., sex, race, marital status) were involved, the variables were dummy coded (Cohen, 1968; Darlington, 1968) and point-biserial correlations calculated. As Welkowitz, Ewen, and Cohen (1971) have noted, the point-biserial is an appropriate test of the relationship between the groups as well as the level of significance.

While it was important to describe the degree of association between single respondent

attributes and the dimensions of rape attitudes, it was also of interest to determine how predictable each of these attitudinal dimensions might be when using *sets* of characteristics. To address this issue, stepwise multiple correlations were used to locate sets of respondent characteristics having significant correlations with rape attitudes while taking into account the intercorrelations among these variables. In conducting these analyses, only those variables entering into the regression equations at a significant level ($p < .05$) were retained.

In order to assess the degree of interrelationship among the 13 respondent characteristics, intercorrelations were computed among the variables. The resulting correlations ranged from .00 to .78 with a mean of .17. Of the correlations computed, over one third (40%) were less than .10, and 73% less than .20, indicating that the characteristics were relatively independent.⁵

Table 2 presents the simple, point-biserial, and multiple correlations (with the associated standardized beta weights) between each of the ATR dimensions and respondent characteristics for each of the respondent groups.

Citizens. With the exception of the factor Power as Motivation for Rape, the multiple correlations between respondent characteristics and rape attitudes were highly significant ($p < .0001$) with the multiple R s ranging from .42 to .19. A closer inspection of the product-moment correlations shows that the respondents' sex, race, and attitudes toward women were the most consistent predictors: Sex was correlated with seven factors, attitudes toward women with six of the factors, and race with four. Of interest is the finding that personal knowledge of a raped woman was not correlated with the factors.

A number of sex differences with respect to attitudes toward rape are evident in Table 2. As contrasted to women (scored 1), men (scored 2) tended to indicate to a *greater* extent that it was a woman's responsibility to prevent rape, $r(1,054) = .17$, $p < .001$; pun-

⁵ A table showing the intercorrelations among the respondent characteristics may be obtained from the author.

Table 2 (continued)

Respondent characteristic	Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4		Factor 5		Factor 6		Factor 7		Factor 8	
	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β	<i>r</i>	β
Patrol police officers (<i>n</i> = 254) (continued)																
Age					.14*	.15					.15*	.15				
Years of education			-.14*	-.12					-.15*	-.15						
Knowledge about rape			-.18**	-.17												
Testified at a rape trial ^a (1 = yes, 2 = no)																
Interviewed rape victims about their rape																
Contact with rape victims																
Contact with rapists																
Received rape training ^a (1 = yes, 2 = no)															.20***	.21
Personally know a raped woman ^a (1 = yes, 2 = no)																
<i>R</i>	.10		.22**		.19**		.28****		.21**		.15*		.13*		.20**	
Rape crisis counselors (<i>n</i> = 118)																
Race ^a (1 = black, 2 = white)			-.28**	-.30												
Marital status ^a (1 = single, 2 = married)					.18*	.18										
Age							.31***	.31	-.17*	-.17	-.31***	-.32				
Years of education			-.26**	-.19												
Knowledge about rape													.19*	.19		
Interviewed rape victims about their rape																
Contact with rape victims			-.32***	-.41							.31***	.33				
Received rape training ^a (1 = yes, 2 = no)	.23*	.23					.22*	.22							.26**	.26
Personally know a raped woman ^a (1 = yes, 2 = no)																
<i>R</i>	.23**		.55****		.18*		.38***		.17*		.45****		.19*		.26**	

Note. Values in the β column are standardized beta weights ($p < .05$), and values in the *r* column are product-moment correlations between a respondent characteristic and a dimension of rape attitudes. Only those correlations and beta weights that are statistically significant ($p < .05$) are reported. The factors are defined as follows: 1 = Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention; 2 = Sex as Motivation for Rape; 3 = Severe Punishment for Rape; 4 = Victim Precipitation of Rape; 5 = Normality of Rapists; 6 = Power as Motivation for Rape; 7 = Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape; 8 = Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape.

^a A point-biserial correlation.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

**** $p < .0001$.

ishment for rape should be harsh, $r(1,054) = .09$, $p < .01$; victims precipitate rape through their appearance or behavior, $r(1,054) = .16$, $p < .001$; rapists are mentally normal, $r(1,054) = .08$, $p < .01$; rapists are not motivated by a need for power over women, $r(1,054) = -.07$, $p < .05$; a woman is less attractive after rape, $r(1,054) = -.11$, $p < .001$; and women should not resist during rape, $r(1,054) = -.17$, $p < .001$.

In terms of race, blacks (scored 1), in comparison to whites (scored 2), felt that women are primarily responsible in rape prevention, $r(1,054) = -.30$, $p < .001$; a victim's appearance or behavior is less likely to precipitate rape, $r(1,054) = .13$, $p < .001$; rapists are likely to be mentally normal, $r(1,054) = -.16$, $p < .001$; and a woman is less desirable following her rape, $r(1,054) = .17$, $p < .001$. Race was selected by two of the stepwise regressions as being the most important respondent characteristic for the factors of Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention ($\beta = -.26$, $p < .0001$) and Normality of Rapists ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .0001$).

As might be expected, attitudes toward women exhibited a pattern of correlations with rape attitudes similar to that of sex of respondent. Two exceptions are worth noting, however. Liberal views of women's roles in society were associated with the beliefs that the motivation for rape is not sex, $r(1,054) = -.20$, $p < .001$, and a woman is a desirable person following her rape, $r(1,054) = .25$, $p < .001$.

Rapists. Only three correlations between characteristics of rapists and attitudes toward rape were found to be significant for the rapists. Marital status, age, and knowledge about rape were significantly ($p < .05$) related to three of the ATR factors. However, given the number of significant results relative to the number of tests made, it is quite possible that at least two of these could have occurred due to chance.

Patrol police officers. Victim Precipitation of Rape was the one attitudinal variable that could be predicted best by selected characteristics of police officers, $R(2, 251) = .28$, $p < .0001$. For this particular dimension, sex and race were the two predictors that were signifi-

cantly ($p < .01$) related, with race ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) being the most important. As was true for the citizen sample, white officers were more likely ($p < .001$) than black officers to perceive rape as being caused by the victim's appearance or behavior. Similar to the citizen sample, race was negatively related to perceived Normality of Rapists, $r(252) = -.14$, $p < .05$, and positively related to Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape, $r(252) = .13$, $p < .05$, although the magnitude of these correlations was higher in the citizen sample.

Contact with rapists, contact with rape victims, interviews with rape victims about their rape, and personal knowledge of a raped woman were not significantly correlated with rape attitudes. Participation in rape training programs was associated with the perception of a woman's behavior during rape. More specifically, officers who had not participated (scored 2) in these training programs (versus those who had, scored 1) were inclined to feel that one of the victim's prime responsibilities was resistance, $r(252) = .20$, $p < .001$.

On the whole, police officers' perceptions of rape appeared to be less predictable than those of the citizen sample. Only 11 correlations were found to be significant, with only 1 (race) of 12 variables related with as many as three of the ATR factors.

Rape crisis counselors. Two factors were highly predictable from the personal data collected from the counselors. The factors dealing with perceived motivation for rape, that is, sex and power, showed the highest multiple correlations: .55 ($p < .0001$) and .45 ($p < .0001$) for sex and power, respectively. With regard to these two factors, contact with rape victims seemed to account for more of the variance (approximately 10%) in these attitudes than any other single respondent characteristic. An examination of the simple correlations, $r(116) = -.32$, $p < .001$ and $r(116) = .31$, $p < .001$, suggests that as contact with rape victims increased, the more likely it was that counselors viewed rape as being motivated by a desire for power over women rather than simply as a desire for sex.

Further examination of Table 2 points to the importance of rape training for counselors

and its relation to perceptions of rape. As shown, participation in training programs (scored 1) was related to the factors of Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention, $r(116) = .23$, $p < .05$; Victim Precipitation of Rape, $r(116) = .22$, $p < .05$; and Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape, $r(116) = .26$, $p < .01$. An interesting finding was that, as with the police officers, training was correlated with the belief that women should not necessarily resist in a rape attack.

Respondent Group Differences in Rape Attitudes

It was also hypothesized that the respondent subgroups would differ in terms of their mean scores on the eight derived factors of the ATR. The purpose of the final set of analyses was to determine *if* there were differences among these groups and, if so, *how* these groups differed with respect to their perceptions of rape.

Since there was a series of dependent variables (the eight ATR factors) on which it was of interest to compare the respondent groups, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was computed to test the hypothesis regarding group differences. The MANOVA was significant, $F(24, 4159) = 44.30$, $p < .0001$, thus supporting the hypothesized subgroup differences. In order to determine the nature or how the groups differed with respect to the eight dimensions of rape attitudes, a discriminant analysis followed by univariate analyses of variance and calculation of omega squared (ω^2 ; Hays, 1973, pp. 484-488) were performed. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 3.

Three significant discriminant functions were extracted, with each significant at well beyond $p < .0001$. The total discriminatory power of the solution in accounting for group differences was .48. This index shows the proportion of the variability in the discriminant space that is relevant or attributable to group differentiation (Tatsuoka, 1970).

The standardized weights of the ATR factors on the three functions indicate their relative contribution to group differentiation (see Table 3). Function 1, accounting for 82% of the explained differentiation among the

groups, was primarily defined by the factors Sex as Motivation for Rape (.62) and Victim Precipitation of Rape (.54), $\chi^2(24) = 949.28$, $p < .0001$. Function 2, explaining an additional 16% of the variation, was composed primarily of the factor Severe Punishment for Rape (-.84), $\chi^2(14) = 202.36$, $p < .0001$. The remaining 2% of the explained variance among the groups, Function 3, was primarily defined by Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape (-.59), $\chi^2(6) = 24.86$, $p < .0001$.

Due to the variability of the sample sizes among the respondent groups, F_{\max} tests (Winer, 1971) were made to examine the homogeneity of the variances prior to the calculation of the univariate analyses of variance. For each of the scales, the tests were not significant ($p > .05$), indicating that the variances were homogeneous. The univariate analyses of variance followed by Newman-Keuls multiple-comparison tests (Winer, 1971) were highly significant and showed how the respective respondent subgroups differed for a specific dimension of attitudes toward rape.

An inspection of the Newman-Keuls results summarized in Table 3 shows that the rapists significantly ($p < .05$) differed from the rape crisis counselors on each of the factors. In comparison to the counselors, the rapists were *more* likely to endorse the following views: Rape prevention is primarily woman's responsibility ($p < .001$); rape is motivated by a desire for sex ($p < .001$); punishment for rape should not be severe ($p < .001$); victims are likely to precipitate rape through their appearance or behavior ($p < .01$); rapists are not mentally normal ($p < .01$); rape is not motivated by a need for power ($p < .05$); a raped woman is a less desirable woman ($p < .01$); and women should not resist during rape ($p < .01$).

The patrol police officers were more similar to the rapists than they were to the counselors in their views of rape. No differences were found between the officers and the rapists in their perceptions of the basic motivations for rape (power and sex), the normality of rapists, or the attractiveness of a rape victim after rape, whereas the officers and counselors were comparable on only one factor, Resistance as Woman's Role During Rape. Simi-

Table 3

Summary of Means, Univariate-Multivariate Analyses of Variance, and Discriminant Analysis with Rape Attitudes as Dependent Variables for Respondent Groups

Rape attitude	Mean standardized factor scores for respondent groups				Univariate F ($df = 3, 1444$)	ω^2	Standardized weights on discriminant functions		
	Citizens ($n = 1,056$)	Rapists ($n = 20$)	Patrol police officers ($n = 254$)	Rape crisis counselors ($n = 118$)			1	2	3
Woman's responsibility in rape prevention	.03 ^a	.69 ^b	.14 ^a	-.73 ^c	26.81**	.06	.35	.05	.49
Sex as motivation for rape	.14 ^a	.27 ^a	.03 ^a	-1.35 ^d	94.36**	.16	.62	.29	-.17
Severe punishment for rape	-.13 ^a	-.92 ^b	.57 ^c	.10 ^d	42.57**	.08	.01	-.84	.01
Victim precipitation of rape	.01 ^a	-.48 ^b	.49 ^c	-1.07 ^d	77.71**	.14	.54	-.44	-.10
Normality of rapists	-.07 ^a	.06 ^a	-.04 ^a	.72 ^b	23.08**	.05	-.33	-.10	.22
Power as motivation for rape	-.06 ^a	.04 ^a	-.04 ^a	.61 ^b	16.67**	.03	-.28	-.08	.17
Favorable perception of a woman after rape	.01 ^a	-.60 ^b	-.12 ^{a,b}	.28 ^c	6.58**	.01	-.14	.04	-.54
Resistance as woman's role during rape	.01 ^a	-.75 ^b	-.02 ^a	.11 ^a	3.75*	.01	-.06	-.07	-.59
Multivariate F ($df = 24, 4159$)					44.30**				

Note. For a specific dimension of rape attitudes, respondent groups which do *not* have a common superscript are significantly ($p < .05$) different. Each of the discriminant functions was significant at $p < .0001$.

* $p < .01$.

** $p < .0001$.

larly, the citizens were more closely aligned with rapists and the police than they were with the counselors.

In addition to group differences, it was proposed previously that rapists would have more favorable views of rape than would rape crisis counselors. As anticipated, for each of the five factors on which it was possible to characterize the direction of scoring, it was found that the counselors displayed higher ($p < .01$) anti-rape attitudes than the rapists.

Discussion

Exploration of the Dimensionality of Rape Attitudes

The pattern of the ATR item loadings on the factors shown in Table 1 does not present a particularly good approximation to "simple structure." As can be seen, several of the items had loadings of .30 or greater on as many as three of the factors; those items loading on more than one factor typically had loadings in the range of .10 to .35. The complexity of the factor structure may be as much a product of nonindependence of the theoretical constructs underlying the ATR items and dimensions as it is a function of artifacts due to inadequacies in instrument construction (e.g., the small number of items composing the scale). Additional refinements in the content of the ATR could, perhaps, more clearly delineate attitudes toward rape.

Although the ATR items were written in terms of affective, cognitive, and conative components of rape attitudes, observation of the factor structure readily reveals that the items do not cluster into just these three categories. These results do not support any of the attitudinal structures proposed by the definitional approaches to attitude organization, which suggest that attitude structures may be described on the basis of these three components alone (cf. Brigham, Woodmansee, & Cook, 1976). The pattern of the item loadings appears to be a function of item content rather than just the affective, cognitive, and conative nature of the items.

The extraction of eight factors from the ATR showed rather conclusively that rape

attitudes should be represented as a multidimensional construct rather than treated as a unidimensional one, thus supporting Davis's (1975, p. 77) hypothesis of different rape attitudes. Further, the identified dimensions "make sense," implying face validity, and although not confirmed empirically elsewhere, these dimensions have been discussed in the literature.

Factors 1 and 4 (Woman's Responsibility in Rape Prevention and Victim Precipitation of Rape) tend to deal with the perceived role (behaviors, appearance, location) of the victim's contribution to rape. The works of Bohmer (1974); Calhoun, Selby, and Waring (1976); Curtis (1974); Feldman-Summers and Lindner (1976); Hoffman and Dodd (Note 5); McGuire and Stern (1976); and Wood (1973) have pointed to the existence of an attitude dimension concerning victims' role in rape. In discussing the reason for such beliefs, Symonds (1975) has suggested that there is a reluctance on the part of people to accept the idea that a rape victim is blameless. Following his logic, violent crimes such as rape make people feel insecure and vulnerable, especially if these people or their friends/relatives may be exposed to the offense at any place or any time. For these people, it is both a relief and a comfort to believe that the victim, through appearance or behavior, may have done something to contribute to or precipitate the act. They no longer feel as helpless or vulnerable. In rape, since the offender is not likely to be accessible for examination, people may seek causes in the victim rather than in the offender.

Motives for rape are represented by Factors 2 (Sex as Motivation for Rape) and 6 (Power as Motivation for Rape). Several writers (Ben-Horin, 1975; Branch, 1976) have noted that since rape, by common law, involves forcible intercourse, some persons view rape as being motivated by a need for sex. Other writers, particularly in the feminist literature, have argued—contrary to a sex motive—that men rape out of a desire for power over women and use rape as a fear tactic to intimidate and keep women in their "place" (Brownmiller, 1975a; Salerno, 1975; Scarpitti & Scarpitti, 1977; Sherman, Note 6). Thus,

these two factors of the ATR seem to represent two of the perceived motives for rape discussed in the literature.

Another attitudinal theme which has also appeared in the literature and is identified by the ATR is perceived punishment for rape (Factor 3—Severe Punishment for Rape). Papers have been published dealing with the sentencing patterns of rapists (Wolfgang & Riedel, 1975) and the effects of various factors influencing juror/jury sentencing of defendants accused of rape (Scroggs, 1976). Only until rather recently, however, has *perceived* punishment for rape as an attitudinal variable been discussed (Brownmiller, 1975a).

Factor 5 (Normality of Rapists) seems to parallel an attitudinal dimension described by Medea and Thompson (1974). They suggest this particular factor is likely to be an important determinant of how a person perceives a rapist. For example, if an individual (as a juror in a rape trial, for instance) perceives rapists as being "abnormal" and is then confronted with one who does not conform to such a stereotype, then the rapist may be perceived more favorably than if he appeared abnormal (Brownmiller, 1975a).

Factor 7 (Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape) describes an attitudinal dimension which Smith (1974) and feminists (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975a; Findlay, 1974) have addressed. From an historical perspective, Smith (1974) has argued that under the institution of marriage, women have been regarded by society as the "property" of men; that is, husbands have sole and unlimited "rights" or access to their wives' bodies whenever they choose. However, sexual intercourse, through rape or consent, with another male alters the perceptions of women by society. Since the "goods" or property are now "used," they represent a less valuable and less marketable commodity. As such, some people may hold an unfavorable perception of a rape victim, since she is now used. This particular factor of the ATR seems to reflect Smith's and others' descriptions of society's views of a woman after rape.

One consistent theme in the legal literature dealing with rape is the issue of victim resistance (Haines, 1975; Harris, 1976; Hibey, 1973; Mathiasen, 1974; Wood, 1973). When

resistance is displayed, it is assumed that consent was not given. However, when the victim is unharmed (an absence of cuts, bruises, scratches), there is a question whether the victim resisted the assault, implying consent. Individuals who strongly believe women should resist a rape attempt may perceive a rape victim, in a case where resistance was unclear, differently from individuals not holding such a belief. Factor 8 (Resistance as Woman's Role in Rape) seems to reflect people's attitude that women should resist in rape.

In addition to evidence of face and content validity, some limited data regarding the empirical validity of the extracted dimensions are also available. The use of contrasted groups represents one means for examining the construct validity of attitude scales (Dawes, 1972). Thus, the discriminant validity of a scale can be assessed by its ability to differentiate known groups who are thought to vary with respect to the variable(s) under consideration. The present research setting afforded an unusually pure naturalistic behavioral situation for validating the dimensions of rape attitudes, since four diverse groups dealing with rape from different perspectives were included in the study. Given the five dimensions of the ATR on which it was possible to characterize a pro- or anti-rape attitude, it was hypothesized that rapists would have a more pro-rape attitude than would rape crisis counselors. Highly significant differences in the hypothesized direction were found for each of these five factors, implying discriminant validity of the dimensions.

The scales of the ATR seem useful, not because they describe previously unknown aspects of rape attitudes, but because they provide a systematic, relatively objective way for measuring concepts not previously well operationalized. As such, the scales of the ATR appear to serve as a means for organizing, summarizing, and understanding the ways in which people think about and perceive rape. Future research might explore additional content areas regarding these attitudes in the event additional dimensions might be identified. Further refinements might also be made with regard to the content of the ATR in order to evaluate and improve the psychometric properties of the scale.

Correlates of Rape Attitudes

With regard to the correlations and beta weights reported in Table 2, two cautionary notes should be made first. The correlations shown have not been cross-validated and are therefore subject to shrinkage, particularly in those cases in which the degrees of freedom are small. Due to the preliminary nature of the data, conclusions drawn are at best tenuous. However, when reasonably large samples relative to the number of variables are involved, some intriguing trends may be noted.

Second, in interpreting the results of large sample sizes, care should be exercised in distinguishing between practically significant and statistically significant results. When large samples are employed, statistically significant results may be found; yet, the practical significance of such results may be so low as to make them virtually unimportant. Therefore, the magnitude of the correlations between the independent variables and the dimensions of rape attitudes should be examined when assessing practical significance (Hays, 1973).

For the sample as a whole, the demographic characteristics of sex, race, and marital status seemed to be most useful in predicting people's views of rape (see Table 2). However, the significant correlations between the respondent characteristics and rape attitudes were relatively low, ranging from .06 to .29 with a mean of .14.

Looking further at the correlations for the total sample in Table 2, the low correlations between knowledge about rape and rape attitudes are of particular interest. Several writers (MacKellar, 1975; Medea & Thompson, 1974) have suggested that people's views of rape are related to their knowledge about rape. They have implied that by increasing people's knowledge about rape (e.g., through public education programs), these attitudes may be altered. The current data do not appear to support completely this view. Such an interpretation, however, should be made with caution. Despite its current popularity, the respondents appeared to know very little about rape. (The mean score on the RKT was 4.59, only slightly better than that which could be obtained by chance.) In such an instance, it becomes difficult to develop a mea-

sure such as the Rape Knowledge Test with many "easy" items, and as a result, there will be a restriction in the range of test scores. Such difficulties may help to account for the low correlations found between knowledge about rape and the dimensions of the ATR.

It was also hypothesized that individual difference characteristics (e.g., respondents' sex, attitudes toward women, and race) would be correlated with rape attitudes. As such, these characteristics should be important considerations in studying these attitudes.

With regard to sex differences, Brownmiller (1975a) has provided perhaps the most complete historical account of the ideology of rape and its relation to men and women. She has concluded that men are more likely to have a favorable view of rape than are women. For example, she has characterized such ideas as "No woman can be raped against her will" (p. 31) and "If you're going to be raped, you might as well relax and enjoy it" (p. 31) as being "*male* myths of rape, the distorted proverbs that govern *female* sexuality. These myths are at the heart of our discussion, for they are the beliefs that most *men* hold" (p. 312; emphases added).

Carrying Brownmiller's arguments of sex differences in rape attitudes somewhat further, Medea and Thompson (1974) have contended that because of their beliefs about rape, "Most men in our country are potential rapists" (p. 20). In addition, Mathiasen (1974, p. 49) and Wood (1973, pp. 343-344) have argued that sex differences in rape attitudes transcend into court cases involving rape, as male jurors are far more likely to identify with the defendant than with the rape victim.

Within the citizen sample, the correlations between sex of respondent and attitudes toward rape tended to support the thesis of sex differences. Significant differences were found on seven of the eight attitudinal dimensions, with women showing a more negative view of rape than men. However, since male citizens had more traditional views of women's roles than did female citizens, $r(1,054) = -.27$, $p < .001$, it might be argued that sex differences in attitudes toward rape may be attributed to the respondents' views of women and their roles in society rather than to their

sex. To test this possibility, partial correlations, controlling for attitudes toward women, were computed between sex and the ATR factors. With the exception of the factor Favorable Perception of a Woman After Rape, sex was still found to be significantly related to the remaining six factors.

Evidence of sex differences in views of rape has also been reported by Calhoun et al. (1976), Feldman-Summers and Lindner (1976), and Selby, Calhoun, and Brock (in press). In studying the effects of factors influencing people's perceptions of a rape victim, it has been generally found that men are more likely to attribute the cause of rape to the victim than are women (cf. Jones & Aronson, 1973). Shaver's (1970) hypothesis of defensive attribution would appear to account for the present results: Because women have a higher probability of being raped than men, women are more likely to have a negative view of rape.

With respect to attitudes toward women, feminists have reasoned that there are interrelationships between perceptions of women and those of rape. From their perspective, beliefs and assumptions about rape rest primarily on traditional notions about the roles of women in society. They have argued that rape has served as an instrument of power to "keep women in their place" (Steinem, 1975; Sherman, Note 6). Therefore, rape may be "nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men keep all women* in a state of fear" (Brownmiller, 1975a, p. 15).

Support for the hypothesis that attitudes toward women and perceptions of rape are related can be found in Table 2: Within the citizen sample, attitudes toward women was correlated with six of the dimensions of rape attitudes. The magnitude and direction of these correlations support the contention that people who view women in traditional roles are likely to see rape as being a woman's "fault," motivated by a need for sex, where punishment for rape should be harsh since the "property is now used," and because of the act, a raped woman is a less attractive individual. Following the logic of Medea and Thompson (1974), these results point to the need for examining people's views of rape as

something more than simply an act of sex; their perceptions of rape tend to be intimately tied to their views of women.

Race was also found to be significant in both the citizen and police samples; the reasons for such differences are not entirely clear, however. One possible explanation may be due to racial differences in perceptions of women's roles. Earlier it was pointed out that attitudes toward women was an important variable for understanding rape attitudes. In studying black versus white women's sex-role attitudes, Gump (1975) reported that black women were more traditional in their sex-role perceptions (in terms of submissiveness, orientation toward the home, and personal development) than were white women. Based upon her research and drawing upon the findings of the present investigation concerning the relationships between attitudes toward women and rape, it might be hypothesized that the reported racial differences in rape attitudes may be due to the respondents' views of women. To explore this possibility, partial correlations, controlling for attitudes toward women, were computed between race and the eight ATR dimensions for each sex group in the citizen sample. For males, attitudes toward women had no effect on the relationships between attitudes toward rape and race of respondent. Conversely, for women, attitudes toward women was found to have an effect. Of five correlations found to be significant, only two were significant after partialing out the effects of attitudes toward women. These results tend to show that for male citizens, there appeared to be significant relationships between their race and their rape attitudes. However, for women, attitudes toward the female role seemed to account for more of the variation in attitudes toward rape than did their race.

Respondent Group Differences in Rape Attitudes

The final hypothesis tested in the study addressed the following two propositions: (a) The respondent groups would differ in terms of their perceptions of rape, and (b) rapists would have more favorable perceptions of rape than would rape crisis counselors. The

results from the multivariate and univariate analyses showed that the four groups tended to perceive and cognize rape in markedly, but meaningfully, different ways. Further, of the five factors of the ATR on which it was possible to characterize pro- or anti-rape attitudes, the rapists reported significantly less negative opinions of rape than the counselors.

As compared to the citizens, police officers, and rapists, the rape crisis counselors were quite different in their reported views of rape. In general, they held more negative views of rape than the other groups. There are several possible explanations why the rape crisis counselors perceived rape so differently from the other respondent groups. First, the counselors were women, while the other groups were composed predominantly of men. As discussed previously, sex of the respondent appears to be a key variable in explaining differences in perceptions of rape. Thus, it seems quite likely that the sex composition of the groups is one reason for the observed differences.

Second, interviews with selected directors and counselors of the crisis centers also revealed that many women who had become counselors were associated with the women's movement and labeled themselves as "feminists." Brownmiller (1975a) has noted that a feminist is likely to perceive rape as

A sexual invasion of the body by force, an incursion into the private, personal inner space without consent—in short, an internal assault from one of several avenues and by one of several methods—constitutes a deliberate violation of emotional, physical and rational integrity and is a hostile, degrading act of violence that deserves the name of rape. (p. 376)

Such a definition is quite different from the one used by several rapists also interviewed. Two rapists, for instance, characterized rape as being "assault with a 'friendly' weapon," while another considered it as being "much ado about nothing." These definitional differences among the groups are also likely to explain many of the respondent group dissimilarities.

Further, as shown earlier, individuals with liberal perceptions of women and their roles tend to see rape differently from those with conservative views of women. Complete data were not available to test this idea, but it

seems that the respondents' attitudes toward women were also likely to account for differences among the respondent groups in terms of rape attitudes.

It is also interesting to note that the citizens tended to be more similar to the rapists and the police in their perceptions of rape than they were to the counselors. In addition to the previously mentioned reasons (i.e., sex differences in group composition and rape attitudes, definitional differences of the word *rape*, and differences in perceptions of women and their roles), the citizens seemed to attach a negative stigma to a rape victim. This finding is consistent with other studies on victim attribution. Research by Chaikin and Darley (1973), Jones and Aronson (1973), Lerner and Simmons (1966), and Walster (1966) has generally concluded that people are quite willing to attribute fault or responsibility to a victim for an accident or a crime. In the present study, the citizens attributed a greater responsibility to women for rape prevention and for causing rape than did the counselors.

Weis and Borges (1973) have added that person-oriented crimes such as rape take on a game-like quality to people. They have noted that the more rape is seen as a confrontation between equals, the greater the stigma attached to the loser or the victim; the greater this equality, the greater the perceived responsibility of the victim for the offense. As a consequence, a stigma is attached to the victim almost out of fear of contamination. Given that the citizens had a less favorable perception of a woman after rape than did the counselors, Weis and Borges's hypothesis of victim-offender equality and victim responsibility appears worthy of further consideration.

Even though no empirical evidence seems to be available, several writers (e.g., Findlay, 1974, p. 205; Mathiasen, 1974, pp. 43-45) have stated that police officers often treat the victim as if she were the offender. Here again, no data are available on the treatment of rape victims by police, but it is interesting to compare police officers' attitudes toward rape with those of the rapists and the counselors. As shown in Table 3, the officers did not differ from the rapists on four of the attitudinal dimensions, while perceptions similar to the counselors were found on only one of the di-

mensions. These results raise the question, *Why were the police officers so different from the counselors?*

Wood (1973, p. 348) has proposed that the police, whose sociocultural orientation is similar to that of the offender, often see a rape situation from an offender's viewpoint rather than from a victim's. Curtis (1974) has also noted that the police tend to be more suspicious of a rape victim than of a victim of an assault or robbery, since rape is often a private crime with few, if any, witnesses. Consequently, investigating officers may only trust a victim who "is a respectable member of the community, obviously physically brutalized, repulsed by sex-related questions, and hysterical throughout the interview" (Mathiasen, 1974, p. 44).

In addition to a similar sociocultural orientation with the offender and basic mistrust of a rape victim, Brownmiller (1975a) has attributed police behavior to their male-oriented attitudes. As she has stated,

Despite their knowledge of the law they are supposed to enforce, the male police mentality is often identical to the stereotypic views of rape shared by the rest of the male culture. The tragedy for the rape victim is that the police officer is the person who validated her victimization. A police officer who does not believe there is such a crime as rape can arrive at only one determination. (p. 366)

Contrary to the thesis of sex differences, Symonds (1975) has suggested that the training police receive concerning the investigation of a rape case predisposes them toward doubting the testimony of a victim. For example, in a book frequently cited on criminal investigation of rape cases, O'Hara (1970) has given the following recommendations:

The victim should be interviewed as soon as possible after the occurrence. The victim should be questioned thoroughly concerning the occurrence, the circumstances surrounding it and her movements before and after the commission of the offense. (p. 231)

Where a vigorous woman alleges ravishment it is to be expected that signs of violence such as wounds, bruises and scratches will be present and their absence should induce a moderate degree of skepticism unless the girl avers that she fainted from fear, became panic stricken or was otherwise rendered incapable of physical resistance. The acts and demeanor of the female immediately after the alleged commission should be subjected to very critical investigation in these cases. (p. 293)

Similarly, a national survey by Chappell (Note 2) of 208 police departments showed that 93% of the departments provided training on special evidence requirements in rape cases. But, only approximately one third (38%) of the departments covered topics dealing with rape as a social problem.

These reasons may account for some of the alleged skepticism and cynicism of police officers. Although accusations concerning police insensitivity to the plight of rape victims cannot be assessed through the present data, the results do *suggest* a need for systematically evaluating the relations between police officers' attitudes toward rape and their behavior toward a rape victim.

In summary, the ATR seems to be a potentially useful, first approximation to the development of a vehicle for summarizing and communicating the various facets of rape attitudes. The instrument shows some promise as a measure in rape research efforts, such as evaluating the effects of rape attitudes in rape law reform and rape legislation (BenDor, 1976; Cobb & Schauer, 1974); rape awareness and rape training programs (Keefe & O'Reilly, 1976); and rape victim and offender reactions to therapy and counseling programs (Blanchard & Becker, 1976; Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976). For example, one interesting application of the ATR which may hold some promise is in voir dire hearings involving the selection of jurors for a rape trial. It might be hypothesized that to the extent that juries and judges differ in their decisions concerning a case, the greater is the probability that variables extraneous to the case, such as jury members' attitudes, may have influenced jurors' decisions. Kalven and Zeisel (1966, p. 56) reported that in rape cases where there was no violence, only one assailant, or no prior acquaintance between the victim and the defendant, the judges and juries would have reached the same decision *only 40%* of the time. Brownmiller (1975a) has suggested that juries tend to be allies of rape defendants and enemies of female complainants because juries "are composed of citizens who believe the many myths about rape, and they judge the female according to these cherished myths" (p. 373). Using the ATR and one of the experimental methodol-

ogies described by Harris, Bray, and Holt (in press), a study might be designed to test the hypothesis that rape attitudes are predictive of jurors' verdicts. If so, the ATR may be used in screening jurors for a rape trial (Kairys, Schulman, & Harring, 1975; Schulman, Shaver, Colman, Emrich, & Christie, 1973). This is just one example of a possible use of the ATR; however, it might be applied to any investigation in which the assessment of rape attitudes could play an important role.

In studying rape attitudes, where patterns of legal and social interactions in our society have been and are likely to be continually in flux, the empirical approach to attitude organization places a premium on the continuing investigation of those attitudes. The present data are thus presented as a tentative model, albeit crude, in the hope that future research on rape attitudes might be stimulated.

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